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The Indian Folk Societies, Tribes and Hordes in Brazil and Several Neighboring Districts, Land and Peoples (Die indianischen Völkerschaften, Stämme und Horden in Brasilien und einigen benachbarten Gebieten, Land und Leute)

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[Title page]

Indians in the River Regions of Tapajôz

101 726 [385] There are still more tribes in the area between the Tapajôz and Madeira, an area still today almost inaccessible, but of these tribes we have hardly any other information than that they are enemies of the Mundurucu, by whom they are being persecuted to the point of extinction. The same is true of the Jumas, Parentintins, and the Araras who live near the sources of the Rio Mauhe and from there westward. Probably to escape this persecution the Jumas and the Araras, the latter distinguished by their graceful feather finery, have moved to the parish of S. Antonio de Araretama (Borba) on the eastern bank of the Madeira, 25 legoas above the river mouth. And the Parintintins, described as a very industrious, [386] accomplished tribe live partly in the village of Jatapûon, on the left bank of the river of the same name. Whether this tribe is to be considered identical with the so-called Coroados, "the Shorn," who are also supposed to be living in the Tapajôz is uncertain. Certain is, however, that [727] the skulls of their enemies, which the Mundrucûs preserve, show a shorn pate. According to other reports the Parintintins are said to have the inside of their fore arms tattooed at the wrist and to be cannibals. Castelnau [Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud] names them among the tribes still at war with the Brasilians (III, 307). •

> "Earlier the following were mentioned [as living] on the Arinos and Juruena: the Apaunuarîas, Marixitâs, Apicuricûs, Muquirîas, Ereruas. No trace is left of these, but there is a group known as the Anyurias and another called the Apecuarîas. Hyspodiaei are sometimes seen among the Indians of the Tapajûz. Revista trimensal 1847. Ser. II Tom. 2, p. 5. 96.

000 All these tribes have little claim to our attention and I shall leave undecided whether those mentioned first (a - h) are fragments of the Apiacas and Mundrucus who are dominant here or whether they have

a different origin. Since I have already given the essential material about the Apiacas it might, however, be appropriate to repeat here what I reported about the Mundrucus (Reise in Brasilien III. 1308 et. seq., 1337.) for no other traveller has actually observed these remarkable Indians in their native habitat.

The Mundrucus, Mondurucus, Mundurucus, Moturicus
(called by the Apiacas Pari)

The Mundrucus are, together with the Apiacas, the ruling tribe in the northern basin of the Tapajoz. Their largest aldea de S. Manoel, which has trade connections with the Brasilians, lies about a day's journey below the junction of the Rio Arinos with the Juruena at the Rio negro (vermelho).

[387] When I met the first Mundrucus in the Mission Novo Monte Carmel de Canoma I had to admit that I had never before seen Indians like these. Without exception they were athletically built, broad-chested and four-square, plump and well nourished in limbs and torso, and the hard muscles so evenly covered as though these people had never interrupted a life of comfortable relaxation with the hardships of war and the hunt. Their posture and their walk was that of conscious strength. What struck me the most, along with the general physical excellence of every member of the tribe, was the light skin color. They were not so deep a copper red as many other Indians, in particular those living on plains or on large rivers, and this paler color was considerably accented by the tattooing (it was not just painting) which covered almost the whole of the body. * Either the whole face was

*See the illustration in Spix and Martius Reiseatlas. For this painful operation they use a comb made from the thorns of several varieties of palm trees. In all probability there is no other tribe in South America which practices tattooing to the same extent. Rob. Dudley has drawn similar ones from Guyana.

304 tattooed or there was in the middle of the face a semielliptical, blue-black spot from which numerous, parallel lines extended over the chin and lower jaw down to the breast. From the middle of one shoulder to the other, two or three lines half an inch apart run across the broad chest. Under these there are vertically placed diamonds, some filled in, some left in outline to the end of the chest. The rest of the torso is adorned similarly though not so completely and the same lines are repeated on the extremities with or without the diamonds. Variations are introduced according to individual taste. Among women the whole face is rarely blackened, they have only a malha, a crescent shape, the pointed horns of which are turned upward. Their [388] ears are pierced, [301] not in the lobe, but at the top in the first fold and they wear cane pegs 142 in the holes. The face of these people is wide, with a low forehead [302] shadowed by the hair which is cut straight across, the facial features marked, coarse and expressive of good nature. The eyes are always dark and not so slanted as the eyes of Indians of the more southerly tribes. The nose is large, often somewhat curved, not so short and blunt, with flaring nostrils, like those we have noticed among the Indians of eastern Brazil. Their heads are covered with thick, shining black hair which turns gray among the Mundrucus only late and then only in individual cases. I have never seen among them, any more than among any other Indians, an old man who was white-headed. In the 291 wilds they are unclothed except that the men wear a jock strap [Suspensorium] of cotton or a tacanhaoba. The women I saw were wholly naked, even in the mission, and to get an apron on them for 285 church was a matter of some difficulty. The Mundrucus and their neighbors, the Maues, with whom they are friendly, are, like the Apiacas, skilled in the art of spinning cotton thread and weaving hammocks which they hang outside their huts on hot nights. To catch fish [226] they usually poison the water in which the fish are found.* They make
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*They do this in ponds or dammed up brooks by stirring the crushed twigs and leaves of the timbo (Paullinia pinnata) into the water until it turns dark and foams. The fish, and even crocodiles, come to the surface belly up, stupefied or dead and the fish are eaten. The water is extremely poisonous.

411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidaruz), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (casp), and the bow which is difficult to draw (tarõ) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (pangnie, or uup, tupi viba) but poisoned war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a uitotap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [389] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Diccionario geograph. II. 136 and Cerqueira e Silva Corograf. paraënse 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (esgravatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 The Mundrucus are great artists in the manufacture of feather orna-
287 ments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most labori-
292 ous products of Indian industry: scepters (buta) carried on festive occasions in the hand; stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (bombim manja); hats (akeri) often outfitted with long braids of arara feathers (akeri kaha); cords and tassels with arara feathers (paro-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for
231 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mutums or hoccos (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope), the king and the white vulture (Cathartes papa and Falco urubutinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

734 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them,
276 the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [390] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaiodes, which is in
000 vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Maues. But they

171 But they
981 do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Maues. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

241 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[161] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[439] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Wurzschilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajoz now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
361 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[147] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from motumun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the thief [Mitnchmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

726 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

*The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and
[534 they are guarded by patrols who signal with the toré (beni), a rasping
205] cane trumpet, or with the kiohoa, a whistle. With this instrument the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the
727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger
[578 women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy
846 which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already determined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage, for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons

> *The hopelessly degenerate Camés, Voturões, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tamepuyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old people" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

776 The only trace of higher belief
I could find is in the language, [394] which has a word (gettüx) for God and another (cäuschi) for devil. The pajé is also considered by them to be a powerful and fearful person. He is thought of as a relative of the devil or as a person possessed [Inspirirter]. For his medical help he is rewarded with cotton thread or weapons as he is among the Apiacas with whom, in fact, the Mundrucus have a number of customs and usages in common.

175 Before 1770 the Mundrucus were hardly known in Brazil by name.
678 But then they burst forth in numerous hordes all along the Rio Tapajôz, destroyed the settlements and made themselves so dreaded that troops had to be despatched against them, troops they resisted fearlessly. In the 1780's a troop more than two thousand men strong came out of their malocas, crossed the Xingund Tocantins rivers and marched to the western border of Maranhão province spreading war and despoliation as they went. But there they suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the warlike Apinayes and only remnants from the murderous battle were left to move north to the Mojú rivers where they devastated the Portuguese farms. * Forced back by the united planters, they finally

* The so-called "Guajajaras" are supposed to be a splinter group dating from that time. In 1818 they were put into villages near Cerzedello on the Rio Gurupi Corografia paraënse p. 117. Perhaps Guaia-jaz? p. 383.

retreated to the rest of the tribe on the Tapajôz. The government sent after them a detachment of 300 men which came upon a heavily populated maloca ten days after leaving the river. Encircled by enemies they fought their way through with great difficulty and finally reached the banks of the river. The Mundrucus are reputed to have lost nearly 1,000 men. The statement comes from a chieftain who made the first treaty and who used his notched stick as reference. Their inclination for war allowed them only a short rest. They went to war against the Muras, who for a long time had rendered the waterways of the Amazon uncertain and had plundered many a settlement. They waged against them so horrible a war of extinction that the Muras in 1785 yielded in Maripi to the Portuguese and promised permanent friendship. Then they

turned on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintins
(Parfrauftes or Uauvrivait), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto
Augusto on the Tapajoz with whom thirty years ago they had been at
peace. *

* Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas
Diccionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca
do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 206.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days
journey above Santarem on the Tapajôz, was founded and since that
time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several
of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with
the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on
the Tapajôz 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission
of Mauhe 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,000. **

438

** This tribe is more industrious than any other.
It is calculated that the inhabitants of the
villages on the Tapajoz produce 6,000 Metzen
[one Metze = 1.05 bu.] of manioc flour a year,
those of Mauhé 1,500 and those of Canomã
800. This was exported for the most part to
Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond
of giving large quantities of flour to their priests.
In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canamã gathered 900
arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of
sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to
bourgeois industry they all might have been ex-
pected to settle themselves among the whites. At
the time of my visit this was hindered by their
dislike of public service away from their families.
They were pressed to do this kind of work in the
cities.

174 A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organi-
zation for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to
the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucús originally

[179] formed a war-like tribe far in the south along with other fellow tribesman with whom they then grew at odds and fought their way toward the north over the boundaries of their earlier common territory. What strikes me here as particularly remarkable is the contrast between a bodily structure according to all reports remarkably uniform and a very mixed dialect. On the one hand their light skin and the colossally [182] powerful muscular build makes them appear, in contrast to the other Indians, like thoroughbreds among ponies and would indicate that they developed these striking bodily characteristics over a long period of time, unmixed and under consistent external conditions. On the other hand [187] words occur in their language which can be considered to be echoes from tribes living far to the south and the north. *

> *The Mundrucu word for "bird" is mukusa and among the Guaycurus far to the south it is nioche. Several words belong to the Guch or Coco tribe: "heaven," capi Mundr., capu Tamanaco, apex Chiquito. "Tooth (my)": woi noi M., moi Moxo. "Body": oi tkpit M., pitpetê Tamanáco. "Sun": uschi M., veju Accawai, Tamanaco, uache Moxo. "River" is described by the Mundrucus better than in the lingua geral, (where the word is yguacu) by the word icuri, or yghcuri, which is to say "fast water"; it is called by the Galibis in Cayenne eicourou (or epouliri), by the Chiquitos ogiru. Two color names: white and red in Mundrucu are yuristat and ipacpec, in Kechuan yurac and paco.*

The principal elements of their dialect belong without any question to the Tupi and in particular to the speech as practiced in the north rather than to the Guarani dialect, though to this latter it is more similar in hardness and unwieldiness than to the more fluid and vowel-richer sounds of the lingua geral. * In the table which follows [397]

> *Some relevant examples: oca "house," Mundrucu: 6cka. T. cururú, "toad,"*

M. gorãgorã. T. camy (cama by) "milk," M. icamurũ. T. paia "father," M. paipai. T. maia "mother," M. maihi. T. pacóba "banana," M. bacobá.

on page 398 we have collected several words for comparison with other dialects. As with many Guck dialects there is in Mundrucu a possessive pronoun (oi, ui, woi, in Tupi it is xe or iẽ) prefixed to parts of the body. Individual words from the Galibi and Island Caribs languages are echoed here but not so clearly as in the instances showing relationship to the Guck dialects. There is no connection whatsoever with Aruac, although some words of this latter tongue belong to the female dialect of those Caribs who have taken as wives the women of the conquered Aruac.

As far as similar words from the dialects of the Mosco, Chiquitos, Tamanacs, Vilelas, Galibis, Omaguas and Kechuas are concerned we are far from any idea of laying any linguistic weight on such isolated phenomena. But an ethnographer who is interested in understanding the nature of the splitting and regrouping of the American tribes can permit himself to use such evidence which indicates a restless, continual recasting of human society in forms which, however new, are still essentially identical. If phonetic similarity of the words is not a matter of sheer chance we have to assume, as in many analagous cases, that the Mundrucus too have come in contact with the above-mentioned tribes and have taken over words from them, in pure or corrupt form. Or we must assume that their present dialect, like other dialects, is the remainder from a long process of linguistic change and decay in a common original tongue. For further comparison a list of such words is inserted here.

English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Carib	Tamanaco	Aruac
head	oi jã	acanga	yahaih, yacae	oupoupou, opoupou	boüpou, ichic, (my icheuid	prüpe	isihi daa (my schi, da sey
eye	ui etã	teca	tisasay	enourou	ñoulou Fem. aku	jauru	da kusi
nose	ue inampõ[1]	tim	tiy	enetali, natali	ichiri	jonarri	da siri, isihiri
mouth	woi pi	yuru[2]	yuru	embatari,	tiboüali,	mdari	da liroku,
tongue	wai co	apeco	ghumbela, cumuera	nourou, enourou	inigné	nuru	
hand and finger	woi põ	po	pur	apori[3]	capo[4]	jamnari	da kabbõuhu

1. Nampõ, "nose" reminds one of namby, "ear" in Tupi.
2. In Aruac jiru means the cylinder woven of guarumã (maraca) case for squeezing grated manioc.
3. Finger: amo, yamori in Galigi.
4. Hand and finger: nu ("my" bouki, nu bouqué in Moxo.

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English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Caraïb	Tamanaco	Aruac
arm	woi pa	gyba, (jua)	yũca, iehua	yaboule, apori	arẽuma	japari	da deneina
foot	woi cana-pũta	py	pũeta	ipoupou	Caraïḃ oupou(?)	ptari	da cuty
shoulder	woi aipia	atyba(3)	yũca hanuahla	imõtali	imoõtali	mgoi	
belly	woi õck	teghe	ce hueca, syrica	onimbo	huẽmbou, f. oullacae	ueni	da deyhayou
blood	tuy	tughy	shĩe	moinou	timoinalou, f. ita, itaheu		curisa
sun	uãschi	coaracy	ghualachy, huarassi	veiou hueiou	huẽyu, f. cachi	vejẽ	haddali
moon	uaschiaz	jacy	yacẽ	nouna, nouno	nonum, f. cãti	nuna	katsi, katti

7. Foot: ni bope in Moxo.
3. Atycupe means in Tupi "on the shoulder," yatacupi means in Omagua "on my shoulder."

English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Caraib	Tamanaco	Aruac
stars	casutá	jacytata	seso	serica, siricco	oualoucouma	chirica	wiwa
earth	ipy	yby (aeghwy)	tuyuca (4)	nono, soye	nonun, f. monha	nono	wunabu, ororu
night	tschũma	pytuna	tepusa, epuessa	vooquo	huétou, f. araibo	coco	wai
water	hũ	hy, ũgh	uni	touna	tonê	tuna	wuni, wuniabbo
fire	taschá	tatá	tata	ouato	ouattou, illeme uapto (8)		hikkihi, ikhihi
river	igury, yghcori	yguacu	balaná	eiçourou, ipoliri	tona		wuin
yes	nlemai	pa, f. hehe	aisy	terré, terê	hanhan, terée		he kurrũ, ehẽ hesẽ
no	gaamnuõ	aaninhe		luayá	ouane, oua ouati		kurrũ, kakẽ, koake (or ne suffix.

4. Tuyuca, in Omagua "earth," means in colloquial Tupi "mud."

8. Is it a matter of pure chance that among the Tamanacos, Galibis, and Island Caribs a fish is called uoto, oto and toto, the name for fire is uapto, ouato, ouatto (which is also the name for gadfly)? Or is there here a conventional transfer of meanings in things which stand in a kind of contrast?